NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 8 No. 33 NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 4, 1956

Call a mechanic!
Agriculture Secy. Benson contemplates the new farm bill

MIDWEST DISCONTENT GROWS

The new farm bill is a hodge-podge with no solutions

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN President Eisenhower last April 16 vetoed a farm bill into which the Democrats had thrown everything calculated to win a vote, they were so spluttering mad they vowed there would be no farm legislation at all this year. But this is not an ordinary year, and so on May 23 the Congress gave final approval to another farm bill which pleased no one, but which the President reluctantly signed on May 28.

The Senate passed the bill unanimously but in the House there were 59 votes against it. Most of the opposition came from the Northeast; the bill was drawn to capture the crucial Midwest vote and a provision to raise price supports on feed grains will hit hard at Northeastern dairymen and chicken raisers, which in turn will hurt consumers. It's that kind of a bill.

THE REACTION: The N.Y. **Times** said of it that "the election-year struggle finally produced a measure with which nobody was completely satisfied, but which all apparently were willing to accept." Rep. W. R. Poage (D-Tex.) commented that "it's not what anybody wants, therefore it must be a pretty good bill." Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) said it was "probably the best possible" that could be hoped for this year. Senate Agriculture Committee chairman Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), when asked if there was anything in the bill to cause another veto, replied: "No, great God, no!"

Agriculture Secy. Benson, in a prize understatement, called it "rather complicated." He turned it over to a crew of experts to tell him what it really means. The Wall St. **Journal** remarked that "if this bill becomes law, there had still best be no illusions about it. Any hope that it will contribute much to solving the farm problem will prove . . . forlorn."

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Los Angeles Herald Express
"WHO IS HE?"

THEY SAY HO-HUM TO CO-COM

Washington's allies revolt on trade ban with East

By Kumar Goshal

IN A SUDDEN BURST of independence from U.S. imposed restrictions, Britain on May 16 announced it intended to broaden its trade with China.

Washington's restrictions on its allies' trade with socialist countries is controlled through CoCom (Consultative Committee) in Paris, representing the NATO members — minus Iceland — and Japan. CoCom maintains two embargo lists: one for the socialist countries of Europe, the other for China.

The U.S. insures compliance by its allies with CoCom rules through the Battle Act of 1951. This Act declared it to be U.S. policy to bar foreign aid to nations violating CoCom embargo lists. The President, however, was authorized to permit "exceptions" if they did not endanger U.S. security.

UNFULFILLED PLEDGE: Britain, Belgium, France, Japan and W. Germany have increasingly been straining against the embargo lists. Last February, pressed by British businessmen, Prime Minister Eden, while visiting President Eisenhower, got from Washington a pledge to review its policy on trade restrictions. When three months passed without any action, London announced it would unilaterally make "exceptions" to the CoCom embargo lists on China trade.

Last year London exported to China goods worth $22 million, imported from China about $35 million worth. Britain's volume of trade would increase greatly if it could sell rubber, automobiles, and the million trucks and tractors which China wants to buy.

GERMAN CRITICISM: There were indications that Britain's "exceptions" might be "the beginning of what may become the rule for all [CoCom] members" (N.Y. **Times**, 5/20). Early in May, for example, the W. German Federal Assn. of Industries' China trade committee gave a reception for Chinese Import and Export Corp. director Ke Chien Ting at the Chamber of Industry and Commerce at Hanover. Among the hosts were Hans Koehler of Farbenfabric Bayer (a successor to the I. G. Farben Chemical concern) and the prominent industrialist Otto Wolff who, 48 hours earlier, had sharply criticized the CoCom embargo lists as ineffective and antiquated. The reception was arranged after Ke Chien Ting had shown interest in W. Germany's heavy industry products.

Eden's announcement on British-Chinese trade came after he had disclosed the alluring trade offer made by Bulganin and Khrushchev during their visit to Britain. The Soviet leaders had presented what Eden called "a comprehensive shopping list" of goods they wished to purchase from Britain, which would boost

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THE CONTINUING SPY HOAX

Ullmann denies all, but Govt. convicts him in public anyway

THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE last week was still trying to inject some heat into its cold hoax of spies in government during the years of the New Deal.

William Ludwig Ullmann, former Treasury Dept. official under the late Harry Dexter White, appeared before a grand jury in New York as the first victim of the new Compulsory Testimony Act which by-passes the Fifth Amendment privilege of silence under political inquisition. Ullmann challenged the law and, after being sentenced to six months in jail, appealed his case to the Supreme Court and lost. He then demanded the right to "purge" himself of the contempt charge by answering all questions put to him.

Government attorneys knew in advance what Ullmann's answers would be to charges of espionage made against him by Elizabeth Bentley. In the spring of 1947 he was questioned for hours by the FBI and denied the allegations made by the government informer; later that same year he was questioned by a grand jury and again denied the charges. In 1948, subpenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he denied for a third time that he had ever engaged in espionage.

A FALSE REPORT: Despite this record, government sources on May 21 suggested to the press that Ullmann at long last was about to "confess." The N. Y. **Times** headlined the story: "Ullmann Promises to Talk On Spies." The account said: "The government may collect tomorrow its first dividend under the Immunity Act of 1954. William Ludwig Ullmann . . . has agreed to tell a Federal grand jury what he knows of a Washington wartime espionage ring."

To correct this false report, Ullmann himself on May 25 issued the following statement:

"I have appeared before the grand jury in the exercise of my right to purge myself of contempt under the court order. As an American citizen, I had the right and, in my opinion, the obligation to test the constitutionality of the Immunity

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THE MAIL BAG

Part-time Prexy

CHICAGO, ILL.

Many will remember the "know nothing" era aptly described and beautifully voiced as "Martin, Barton and Fish." We now have the "know less" era ("He" does not read the newspapers) of "Nixon, Dixon and Yates"—the era of the part-time President. It may be good, as Prof. Chaffee says, ". . . to have a President who does not preach what his subordinates practice," but it is not good enough, not by a long shot. **Dr. Ralph R. Sackley**

Write-in for '56?

ALTADENA, CALIF.

Dr. DuBois said, when speaking in L.A., that each of the two parties is worse than the other. I quite entirely agree with his sit-down against any voting. But while so agreeing, in spirit, I believe Dr. George C. Goldman's call for an organized protest that would make some visible showing should be considered. It would be well for the GUARDIAN editors to make some clear recommendation as to who we might write in on the ballot, so that the progressive front would better be able to make as unanimous as possible a showing of protest. **Howard Koehl**

Stalin's weak point

LAKE GROVE, N.Y.

It was obviously the weak point in the character of Stalin that he could not perceive or comprehend the complete process of building socialism. While he energetically pushed forward the economic socialist construction, he seemed to have underestimated the importance of the inevitable ideological changes among the masses which the economic process carried with it. Consequently he did little or nothing to further this ideological change or to adjust the attitude and policies of the government and the Party to it. The inter-change of cause and effect in the people building a new world and the new world shaping new people seem to have been disregarded or overlooked by Stalin. It would be worse than fighting wind mills to go into detail into every act involved in that mistake. Such an examination leads into that never-never land where history is made by individuals out of thoughts and ideas taken out of the backs of their heads. And such examinations are useless and absolutely meaningless speculations.

Today in the Soviet Union the disproportion of economic advance on the one hand, and political stagnation, has obviously reached a danger point. The 20th Congress put its finger on that point and decided rapidly to remove the danger. The danger is not an internal resurgence of capitalism, but a danger to the strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist world in the international class struggles. A recognition of this danger will speed an energetic campaign not only by word of mouth but likewise by political policy. The result of the campaign will be that the CPUSSR and its people will get together more closely, more intimately until both will be one and the aim of the revolution, a Communist world, will be a final reality. **Max Bedacht**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In a recent speech, Britain's Ambassador to the United States, Sir Roger Makins, said that the policies in British colonies might be described as "People's Colonialism."

—**British Record, issued by British Information Services, May 4, 1956**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: K. G., Brooklyn, N.Y. Be sure to send original clipping with each entry.

Give him his due

AVON, OHIO

While I never made a "god" out of Stalin, it would appear that Russia came a long way under his leadership and he was the "man of the hour" when Russia needed such leadership most. One is inclined to ask those who criticize what ever he did, if they would have done any differently under the circumstances?

The real development that has softened up the attitude of this country toward Russia is the fact that the scientific accomplishment in atomic energy (which must have been started under Stalin's leadership) in Russia, is causing the capitalist bullies to hesitate before they "push the button."

If Stalin was forced to purge the counter-revolutionary element to keep socialism from being aborted before it got started in Russia, then let us give Stalin his due, even though he made "mistakes."

John Downey

The gauge

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The fact that the U.S.S.R. has made such tremendous strides to the extent that the outbreak of war has been and will be prevented, ought to be food for thought if the Stalin era has been a successful one or not. And, if in the affirmative, that only the perhaps strict methods used in the Stalin era are now a bit more conservative because 39 years of education are proving sufficient to venture onto a new path, a new era: Communism. I see in the affair this significant factor: the Russian people are recognized as an educated mass of thinkers by their leaders and trustworthy to march toward the common goal—a stateless society.

Louis Ditmar

Russia's Jews

PLAINFIELD, VT.

In the article on "The Russian Reappraisal" (April 30 GUARDIAN) much space is devoted to the treatment of Jews in Russia. This is a problem which has concerned many of us and on which little reliable and unbiased material has been written.

I have come across one most enlightening piece of literature, **The Jewish Problem in the USSR** by Joshua Kunitz, which deals mostly with the difference between and the reasons for anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in Russia, and the Russian attitude towards Israel.

It can be purchased for 25c from Monthly Review, 66 Barrow Street, N.Y. 14, N.Y.

A. Robert Kaufman

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"But, grandpa, you don't mean to say you ever actually walked around dressed up like that?"

Alice Hill Byrne

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

Dr. Alice Hill Byrne, widely honored educator, founding member of the Independent Progressive Party and a devoted supporter of the **Guardian**, died here May 6, after a year's illness. Pennsylvania-born and educated at Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, she was academic dean and professor of Greek at Western College, Oxford, O., for 21 years. At her retirement in 1941, after 25 years on the Western College faculty, she received an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters as "the incarnation of pure religion, thorough scholarship, genuine culture and true democracy."

She came to Palo Alto in 1945 and until her death gave every ounce of her mental and physical strength and every penny she could spare for causes she believed in. In death she bequeathed her eyes to the Eye Bank and her body to the Stanford Medical Center. Her relatives request that those wishing to honor her memory donate appropriate books to the Palo Alto Library or to the Free Public Library of Lancaster, Pa., her birthplace.

Valida Bryant

Act of justice

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This is a copy of a letter I sent to the President:

Reading the **Herald Tribune** May 4, I was struck by the picture and story by Robert J. Donovan on page 6. I was saddened to learn that the lives of the Rosenbergs could not be spared mainly because Atty. Gen. Brownell said "the government possessed information which corroborated the guilt of the Rosenbergs." I learn further that the case caused you much pain; in the words of Donovan: "it was to haunt him clear into June." Likewise, that the case has not lost its importance and is still so much on the public conscience—that it figures so prominently in pre-election literature.

I am an old man, Mr. President, I was born in 1874, I lived through two wars; and saw much horror and wrongdoing in this world. But the Rosenberg-Sobell case is different, it stands apart. The unease caused by the execution of the Rosenbergs and the sentencing of Morton Sobell to 30 years in jail, is still agitating our country and the world. You, Mr. President, can allay this agitation and relieve the conscience—your own and that of most good men here and abroad, by granting a pardon to Morton Sobell, as an act of justice, of good will and of generosity.

A. A. Heller

Supervisory Parole

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

You certainly deserve thanks and congratulations for the article in the May 11 GUARDIAN on Supervisory Parole. The facts about this particularly odious feature of the notorious McCarran-Walter Act are not widely known and your article will serve to expose them to your readers. The encouraging feature of the situation is the fact that the Supreme Court has opened the way to a decision as to the constitutionality of Supervisory Parole.

I wish that you might see your way to publishing a resume of the Presidential Commission's judgment on the whole McCarran-Walter Act which would help materially to focus public opinion on the need for a thoroughgoing revision of this grossly un-American law.

(Rev.) Kenneth Ripley Forbes

See page 6. —EDITOR.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. By airmail to United Kingdom (other countries, add postage beyond Britain): £2 a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq. London W2, England. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* **JOHN T. McMANUS** *General Manager* **JAMES ARONSON** *Executive Editor*

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Vol 8, No. 33 401 June 4, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Good news

AS THIS IS WRITTEN, GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran is arriving in Moscow for the beginning of what may be a three-month hitch in the U.S.S.R. on her roving assignment abroad which began in March.

And in London, Cedric Belfrage is packed and ready to leave for the world conference of the International Organization of Journalists in Helsinki this month. After Helsinki, he too will travel on to the Soviet Union before returning to England.

Miss Petran's 1956 Odyssey has brought her to France, Italy, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia thus far. At her last report she was in Prague, awaiting train reservations to bring her to Moscow May 28. She has visited the Soviet Union before, as a student 20 years ago. Her present passport, as the GUARDIAN's United Nations correspondent, sanctions travel everywhere except to China, North Korea and North Viet Nam.

Cedric Belfrage's passport is British; it contains no restrictions on where he may travel although he is barred by the U. S. which deported him last Aug. 15 after he had lived here for most of the past 30 years.

THE GUARDIAN IS JUSTLY PROUD of its foreign coverage these days, not only of the work of Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran but also of Anne Bauer in France, Ursula Wassermann in Poland, Mordecai Avi-Shaul in Israel, John Athineos in Greece, George and Eleanor Wheeler in Czechoslovakia, Ecco La Scolta in Italy, Israel Epstein in China, Gordon Shaffer in England and others in Latin America and elsewhere—whose aim is to keep you in touch with people abroad who, like you, want to build a better world.

We do not expect, in bringing you these reports, to uncover some imported model plan to better America; we do hope to help stimulate efforts at home to mend differences among progressives toward a common aim for our nation's future.

WE ARE ESPECIALLY FORTUNATE, in this immediate connection, in the opportunity of having two staff correspondents visit the Soviet Union at this particular time.

Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran are two of the most competent and responsible observers writing in the American press today. They are as well equipped as any we know to inquire into and judge the portentous happenings of this year in the Soviet Union; and to seek out the meanings for American progressives.

We shall continue, as in the past, to report developments in the re-appraisals on the Left which are taking place in many countries of the world; and to print the views of our readers, within the limits of available space. As to editorial judgments, the GUARIDAN intends to trade time for accuracy. Snap judgments are easy to make, hard to correct. Informed judgments take longer to arrive at, but won't need overhauling if soundly formed in the first place.

For such judgments, we shall rely heavily on the findings of Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran.

— THE GUARDIAN

THE GREAT DEBATE AT CARNEGIE HALL

The disunited left meets on one platform

ROGER BALDWIN, chairman of the Intl. League for the Rights of Man, turned to an audience that almost filled New York's Carnegie Hall May 27 and opened what he called "an old-fashioned occasion."

It was old-fashioned because four well-known figures of the U.S. left had come together to debate "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace." The notion of a debate had a pleasant old-time ring. On the platform, said Baldwin, were representatives of "the Socialist way, the Communist way, the Pacifist way—and Dr. DuBois."

Pacifist Dr. A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, sponsors of the meeting, sat with Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist candidate for President; Eugene Dennis, secy. of the Communist Party who served a term of more than three years in Atlanta Penitentiary under the Smith Act, and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Baldwin said the four panelists disagreed with each other on many things but "everybody on the platform is for democracy and peace" and "none supports American foreign policy today."

AN ICE BREAKER: The hecklers in the balcony, noisy enough to sound a note of conflict but not enough to disturb anyone, the hawkers of rival left-wing papers outside the hall, the partisanship of the divided audience, with each side alternately fidgeting, muttering and applauding, the venerable though forceful look of the speakers—all provoked a fond nostalgia. It had been years since such speakers had shared a platform, since an audience so diverse in its views sat in the same hall.

For years each group had talked to itself and won an easy ovation from those who came prepared to cheer. Last week's meeting was an ice breaker, a declaration that no one on the left was an untouchable. That was its biggest achievement.

All four speakers agreed on the need for peace, on the momentous struggle of the Negro people in the South, the evils of the Smith Act, the rights of all Americans to express their views, the hope that more such meetings would be held.

"NOISE AND FUSS": The disagreements were spectacular and heated but not as basic as the agreement. Is Soviet Russia a socialist state? Dennis said enthusiastically, Yes. Thomas emphatically said No. Muste said No because he felt Russia was not free of exploitation, not controlled by the workers, not advancing human freedom and dignity. Dr. DuBois reminded the meeting that the subject was America's path and that when one got off the subject one found mainly "noise and fuss."

Muste seemed to stand alone in demanding unilateral disarmament. All stood for co-existence but defined it differently All but Thomas unqualifiedly favored the admission of China to the UN. He laid down two prior conditions: a peace treaty, not a truce, in Korea and a non-aggression treaty between China and Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa.

THOMAS QUESTIONS: Until Norman Thomas spoke there were only passing references to recent events in the Soviet Union. (Muste said he was not going to help the Communists self-criticize.) Thomas denounced the CP for following a "rigid, secular religion," cited decades-old texts to prove a loyalty to the Soviet Union, charged Stalin with genocide and said that neither Bulganin nor Khrushchev had asked "forgiveness of God or man." He called on Dennis to urge that the Soviets end "totalitarianism and the one-party state"; rehabilitate the Kalmuk people who he said had been dispersed; release political prisoners; agree to controlled disarmament under inspection; repudiate resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International.

The white-haired Socialist fumed at Muste and at moderator Baldwin for seeking to steer the talk away from such stormy channels, turned to Dr. DuBois and bitterly reminded him of a letter he had sent to Thomas 24 years ago, when Thomas was running for Mayor of N.Y. DuBois had said, Thomas told the audience, that he would vote for Mayor Walker because he had put up street lamps in Harlem. Dr. DuBois nodded reflectively in mild astonishment.

When he spoke in rebuttal Dr. DuBois said he did not understand Norman Thomas. "He gets terribly excited and hysterical. He yells and what he's talking about I really don't know."

DENNIS ON PRISONERS: Dennis said he believed if there were any political prisoners held solely for their views in socialist countries, they should be released. He said that many socialist countries had more than one party and he predicted that would be the case in the U.S. He favored incorporating the Bill of Rights in any socialist constitution for the U.S.

Justus in Minneapolis Star

A torch without light

Dennis called for a "revitalized, chastened and strengthened" American left taking common action on certain issues. Thomas wanted Communists first to repent their past. Muste thought joint action possible, though he added: "When confronted by a new zig, we are entitled to ask evidence that there is not going to be a zag."

In the end Muste summed up by asking that the "co-existence" demonstrated on the platform be carried over into political life. The crowds streamed out of the hall and into cafeterias to carry on as they had 20 years ago. Few had changed their minds during the debate, few had had their questions answered, but all found it most wholesome to talk again with those who disagreed.

Party in L.A. June 23 for new Trumbo pamphlet

THE LOS ANGELES Emergency Defense Committee will give a party Saturday, June 23, at 8:30 p.m., to launch Dalton Trumbo's new 50-page pamphlet on the Smith Act trials, **The Devil in the Book.**

The party will be held at Robertson Rendezvous, 1525 S. Robertson, Los Angeles. There will be a door donation and no collection. Trumbo will be guest of honor and John Howard Lawson will be MC. Ralph Rivera will present a program of songs and dances of Mexico.

THE WITCH-HUNT ROLLS ON

Walter's passport quiz aims at peace movement leaders

"TREASON" is a fashionable word amongst Congressional witch-hunters these days and the charge—with Congressional immunity — was directed against at least two persons last month. The first charge was hurled by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) at William Hinton, an American agricultural expert and tractor specialist who worked in China for several years.

The second "treason" blast came last week from the House Committee on Un-American Activities which is currently conducting a probe of alleged passport violations by Americans accused of attending various international peace conferences abroad. It was directed at Louis Wheaton of New York, who declined on constitutional grounds to say whether he had attended the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Peking in 1952.

WALTER HAS A BILL: The investigators accused him of the "vilest slanders" against U. S. forces in Korea in broadcasts he was charged with making from Peking in that year. Wheaton invoked the First and Fifth Amendments to all questions; the committee forwarded a transcript of his testimony to the Justice Dept. for possible prosecution.

(On Oct. 1, 1952, Dean Acheson, then Secy. of State, threatened to prosecute all Americans attending the Peking conference for passport violations).

The present passport hearings are in support of legislation introduced by committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) to nullify recent court rulings that the State Dept. must produce its informants where passports are denied for political reasons.

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

". . . And, why don't you give a passport to Paul Robeson, Mr. Dulles?"

Other witnesses subpenaed included Dr. Willard Uphaus, exec. director of World Fellowship, Inc.; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, chairman of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Mary Russak of New York; and artist Rockwell Kent. All have long been active in peace movements in this country. (Kent, who was to have appeared on May 29, underwent a serious operation on May 24).

THE UNDERCOVER MAN: Chief witness for the committee was William Wallace of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., who described himself as a member of the Communist Party from 1949 to 1955 and as an undercover FBI informer for the last three years of that period. He testified that in 1951, when he was an official of the United Electrical Workers, he and 17 others on a labor delegation to the Soviet Union made false applications for passports. He named ten of the group as members of the CP.

Dr. Uphaus, a Fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education and a member of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, told of his attendance at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950 followed by a ten-day visit to the Soviet Union, but he declined to name any of the other members of the American delegation. In a public statement he attacked the hearings and declared that "the right of movement is inherent in human society." He cited the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country."

BIBLICAL GROUNDS: He said that "at present our government has set up unnecessary and dangerous passport restrictions as an instrument of the cold war. It has taken away the right of travel for many as a punishment for their political and economic views." He added:

"If the Un-American Activities Committee, through questioning or other pressure, concerns itself with my conduct in accordance with my religious views, or seeks to make moral judgments about my views, it infringes on my free exercise of religion as guaranteed by the First Amendment, and it goes contrary to the social creed of The Methodist Church."

He defended his refusal to name others on Biblical grounds:

"No inquisitorial methods will persuade me to repudiate any associations that I have freely made whether they be with communists in a peace movement or Democrats or Republicans in my church. I will not join in any campaign to make outcasts or pariahs out of persons because of their political opinions. The teachings of the Bible are positive on the matter of talebearing or raising false reports.

"'Thou shalt not raise a false report; put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.' (Exodus 23:1)

"'Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people.' (Lev. 19:16)

"'Be not a witness against thy neighbor without cause; and deceive not with thy lips.' (Prov. 25:28)."

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THE "OPENING TO THE LEFT"

The issues and the stakes in the elections in Italy

(This article was written before the May 27 Italian elections. The GUARDIAN will carry a full story on the results.)

By Tabitha Petran

ROME

PICTURES of Joseph Stalin decorated most of the walls of Rome until a week after May Day—more pictures than ever there were in Moscow at the height of his renown. This testified to the bankruptcy of the right and center parties with no other issue for the May 27 elections.

"But Stalin is not a candidate" was a comment frequently heard from spectators to the pasting up and peeling away of election posters that went on here at all hours until enforcement of a city ordinance (agreed to by all parties) wiped the walls bare. The posters thence were confined to specially erected billboards (which obstruct views to the annoyance of tourists and motorists.) In the changeover the Christian Democratic Party somewhat deemphasized the Stalin theme, suggesting a dawning realization that the line might boomerang.

The elections for local governments of 6,904 towns and cities and 91 provinces were the most important since the national vote for parliament in 1953. The intensity and fervor of the campaign by all parties suggested their significance.

At stake in the elections were two major issues: (1) local autonomy and the democratization of the structure of local government; and (2) the "opening to the left," on both a local and national scale.

Reforms of the 1948 Constitution, providing for formation of local governments on a regional basis, decentralization, and local autonomy, remain on paper. Local governments, or councils as they are called, are completely under the control of a prefect appointed by the central government. The prefect can veto any decision of the council, in some cases even dissolve it.

THE THREAT: Implementation of the Constitution's reforms is demanded by the united left—the Communists and Socialists. Before the election these parties controlled roughly a third of the local administrations. Most of the remainder were governed by the Christian Democrats in alliance with smaller parties of the right and center. The Christian Democrats not only opposed the reforms but threatened that if their party failed to win an absolute majority, permitting it to govern without allies of the left or right, it would refuse to participate in any coalition.

The slogan of the "opening to the left" was first raised following the 1953 elections in which the Christian Democrats lost their absolute majority. Its author was G. Sarragat, who had in January, 1947, under U. S. influence, split away from the Socialist Party to form the Social Democratic Party. The slogan soon became the policy of the Socialists and Communists.

THE THEORY: Essentially, the "opening to the left" policy is based on the interclass character of the Catholic Christian Democratic Party—the fact that its membership embraces not only big landowners and industrialists but also genuinely popular elements: artisans, peasants, workers, little businessmen and shopkeepers in towns and villages. In practice, the "opening to the left" means a policy of trying to neutralize the right wing of the Christian Democrats, while stimulating its left wing to greater activity and to collaboration with the Socialists. The theory behind the "opening to the left" is the belief that Italy's problems can only be solved by collaboration of Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats.

The "opening to the left," as Socialist Party Secretary Pietro Nenni pointed out in 1953, "was already contained" in the election results of that year. From a practical point of view, its potentialities rested on two facts: (1) that the Christian Democrats, having lost their absolute majority, were forced to govern in coalition with three small and politically unstable parties with contradictory aims (Social Democrats, Liberals, Republicans) and hence faced a precarious and difficult course; and (2) that the parliamentary strength of the Socialists was such that, with its support, the Christian Democrats would need no other to form a stable majority.

"The opening toward the Socialist Party," Socialists have always made clear, "must be an opening toward the working class. Without such a condition, we would have to reply: No."

The policy's most striking success was the election of President Gronchi by a combination of Socialist, Communist and left-wing Christian Democrats. Gronchi, himself a member of the C.D.'s left wing, is actively promoting the policy.

Another sign that the policy is making headway was the recent formation of a "triple alliance" for political action by the powerful Confederations of Industry, Agriculture and Commerce (comparable to the NAM, the Farm Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce).

THE PROSPECTS: The big moneyed forces are increasingly rallying to bar the "opening to the left." A law voted last year by the left parties and the left Christian Democrats to tax stock exchange transactions, for example, brought a three-week strike in the exchanges last December and even now big business is deliberately depressing the Italian exchange in an effort to excite small investors against the "dangers" of the "opening to the left."

"This is the hour of the Socialists!"—the Socialist campaign slogan—seems to strike a popular chord. "The only perspective for Italy," Nenni told his party's central committee April 10, "is the opening to the left. In this sense this is the hour of the Socialists if not yet of socialism. The question is one of creating a relationship of strength qualifying the Socialists by a decisive majority to face, and resolve, the political and social problems of the present moment. This is possible even with the present Parliament."

Widespread dissatisfaction with the Christian Democrats is reported all over Italy—dissatisfaction arising from corruption of local C.D. administrations and from the party's failure nationally even to try to tackle Italy's difficult problems. Most astute political observers believe, however, that the C.D. party will, although the tide is against it nationally and internationally, be able to hold its own thanks to its almost perfect organization throughout much of Italy. The desire, the need, "for something new" is, however, as Nenni pointed out recently, "the dominant note of national life." And the Socialists through the "opening to the left"—fully backed by the Communists—promise "a new policy insofar as the aspirations of the people and the logic of facts make it possible."

A night that will long be remembered

AN AUDIENCE OF 18,000 saluted heroes from the South in Madison Sq. Garden May 24: Gus Courts, Belzoni, Miss. NAACP president and civil rights advocate, shot from ambush last November; Dr. Theodore Howard, head of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and president of the Natl. Medical Assn.; Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster, whose expulsion from Alabama University attracted worldwide notice; Mrs. Rosa Parks, needleworker, whose arrest and prosecution last December brought on Montgomery's non-violent bus protest; E. D. Nixon, president of the Montgomery division, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., formed to conduct the protest. Other speakers included NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins; AFL-CIO vice president A. Philip Randolph; American Jewish Congress president Israel Goldstein; novelist Fanny Hurst; Harlem Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. Above: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, with Autherine Foster and actress Tallulah Bankhead. Mrs. Roosevelt interviewed Mrs. Foster. Miss Bankhead said: "I pray to God that segregation is in its death throes." The audience cheered as Alabaman Miss Bankhead kissed Alabaman Mrs. Foster.

PORTRAIT OF A NEW KIND OF CANDIDATE

McDougald of Manhattan's 13th A.D.

By Eugene Gordon

Before the battle's over, machine-picked candidate N. Y. State Assemblyman Oreste V. Maresca may wish he'd never told a delegation of Negro women that what his Governor did was "all right with Maresca." Because the McDougald Independent Campaign Committee is opposing him in the June 5 Democratic primary with a candidate who thinks (as do many other 13th A.D. voters) that what Gov. Harriman does is not necessarily "all right" with them.

Maresca in his apartment house hallway told the delegation that he wouldn't ask Gov. Harriman to withdraw the order extraditing Willie Reid, fugitive from a Florida chain-gang, because "what the Governor does is all right with Maresca." He declined to invite them into his apartment. Candidate William G. McDougald says it was that kind of contempt for voters which caused him to break with the machine back in 1932.

HOW IT BEGAN: He was a kid waiter in a Brooklyn Democratic clubhouse, serving drinks to the bigshots in the smokefilled room. He recalls that there were five white men gambling. "They weren't paying any attention to me, and they kept on talking as I came and went. They were discussing who could or couldn't be put up to run for a particular office. One said: 'Don't put Blankety up; he's not safe.' That meant that Blankety might not take the machine's orders. Another said: 'OK; put up Blank. He's safe.' Well, I started to think about it. That led me to reading. So finally I came to the decision that all candidates should be elected by direct primary and responsible to the people who voted them in."

McDougald found answers to many questions in his reading; how, for instance, there could be over-production of shoes when he personally knew of people in the South who went barefoot.

"Political clubs then as now were not membership organizations. They exist at the pleasure of the machine and to hell with the people. They don't want rank-and-file membership; don't want to be obligated to large groups of people."

WHAT HE LEARNED: When he was mustered out of the Army in 1946 he found "entrenched, corrupt machines conducting smear campaigns against all who disagreed with them, especially believers in racial equality: Any white person known to associate with Negroes was called a Communist." It was his personal belief, taught him by his mother and his church, that "God made no minorities or majorities but created mankind."

McDougald calls this lower region of the 13th A.D.—from 125th to 123rd St.—a ghost town. It includes the Title I site for Manhattanville, the project with $30 to $40 rooms displacing tenements for which the occupants had a hard time paying $30 to $40 for 5-6 rooms. Driven out by the building wreckers, with no place to go, hundreds are now crowded in with relatives.

Failure of McDougald's supporters to get out the vote two years ago resulted in his defeat by Maresca. They say Maresca since then has been acting toward his constituents in general as he acted toward the Reid delegation. He owns a half block of tenements at Amsterdam Av. and 141st St.

WHAT HE PLEDGES: McDougald was born in Lumberton, N. C., in 1912, of a Cherokee Indian mother and a Negro father. Slightly below medium height, he is square-faced, square-bodied, direct and frank, and easy to talk with. Graduating from N. C. public schools, he worked summers in New York; returned home to graduate from N. C. State Teachers College. He holds diplomas from the Drake Business School and the N. Y. Institute of Photography. Quiet, aggressive, well-read, McDougald is a top-notch photo-finisher. He, his wife Deborah, and their three children —a boy of 8, a girl of 6 and a 10-months'-old infant—live at 505 W. 148th Street.

"The 13th A.D." he said, "is made up of the oppressed from Europe, people from the under-privileged areas of the West Indies, including Puerto Rico, and Negroes from the jimcrow South. I will represent them all on a platform of improved housing, protection of tenants' rights, increased welfare services and more schools."

His friends of the 13th are determined that he will win his race with Maresca in better than a photo-finish.

NEXT ON WITCH-HUNT LIST: SAVE OUR SONS COMMITTEE

"I resolved to cry out against the slaughter . . ."

FOR SOME OF US there has been no forgetting of the Korean war, nor can there ever be, for we have daily reminders in the lives of our permanently disabled sons. It was in great measure my personal sorrow which deepened my understanding and sympathy for other parents and relatives to the point where I felt I simply had to do something concrete to try to stop the carnage in Korea. I resolved to cry out against the slaughter of human beings when I first visited in an army hospital my son-in-law who had just been flown in from Korea. Not only was he critically wounded, but I saw wards filled with thousands of other young lads, wounded and mutilated.

What I saw were not tough soldiers, but harmless wounded lads. I saw naked, frank horror and hopeless despair in many eyes. The poor fellows talked most often of home, and worried most of all what the folks back home would say when they saw them.

THUS IN 1952 I JOINED with other mothers, fathers, relatives and friends of servicemen in issuing the call to an emergency Midwest Assembly on Oct. 25, in Springfield, Ill., "to save the lives of our sons and loved ones; to stir the conscience of America; to tell all public officials and all candidates for office that we wanted an immediate end to the senseless slaughter."

At the same time we met together in Springfield—some 200 of us—the hill battles had settled into a bloody war of attrition. The Defense Dept.'s casualty list of 1,278 American boys killed, missing and wounded for the week ending Oct. 24 was the largest in a year. Mr. Eisenhower was stumping the nation on a Republican platform drafted by John Foster Dulles, one plank of which read:

". . . they [the Democratic Administration] have plunged us into war in Korea without the consent of the citizens through their authorized representatives in Congress . . ."

One week after the Save Our Sons Committee was born, the electorate gave Mr. Eisenhower a mandate to end the war in Korea. All political writers concede that Mr. Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea, and the implied promise to end the war immediately, won the election for him. Yet all during the winter and spring of 1953, the haggling continued while thousands of American boys died and were mutilated.

SOS worked untiringly to gather facts, to point up vital issues and to reflect upon the opinions of outstanding Americans. We brought these out for discussion in a newsletter to help the people carry out its mandate. We wrote letters, collected petitions, put out press releases. I led a delegation of parents to Washington.

NOW I HAVE BEEN SUBPENAED to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 18 as to what knowledge, if any, I may have of "Communist Party activities," and the organization of the "Save Our Sons Committee" and its activities.

UN CEMETERY IN KOREA

I will tell you quite frankly that I resent the action of those Congressmen in subpenaing me to Washington. We American people have been taught from childhood not to torture animals, to be compassionate. And yet when I asked for compassion for our youth, I have become a victim of attack. I can ill afford the time away from my business to defend myself against abuse and vilification.

This committee knows very well the nature and scope of our work. For years we have done our very best to make our work known to everyone. Their foul purpose is not to investigate but to smear and stop the growing peace sentiments and peace expressions, to spread dissension and distrust among the people.

The Un-AAC's report for last year charged that SOS "callously exploited" the sincere desire of many persons for an end to the Korean war and the return of American prisoners. Yet I have not heard that President Eisenhower or Dulles have been summoned by them to tell of their activities for ending the war in Korea. Almost all of the people who worked in SOS were parents either of prisoners of war or sons in the front lines.

The Un-AAC's report further states, "The Save Our Sons Committee continues to operate with its propaganda keyed to more current issues." Yes, we strongly protested last fall against the psychopathic "School of Torture" run by the Strategic Air Command which was degrading our youth and disgracing our nation. And we are happy that it has been discontinued. We praised Mr. Eisenhower for his leadership at the Geneva Conference last July and his six words which resounded around the world, "I have had enough of war." Yes, we continue to advocate adherence to our American traditions and our Constitution and we continue to protest encroachments of the military on our youth, and military influence into our schools and cultural life. We protested the Paris Island catastrophe, where six teen-agers (Marines) lost their lives last month due to military brutality.

THE ATTACK ON OUR COMMITTEE is a travesty upon decency and should be vigorously and boldly denounced. Under our laws, Congress exists for lawmaking, not for spreading dissension and distrust among the people.

I appeal to you, who I feel sure share my resentment of this whole witchhunt which is cutting deep inroads into our freedom, to come to my defense. I implore you to write, in my behalf, to Francis Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C., to call off the hearing and to cancel the subpena.

It would help to send letters of protest to your newspaper editors. Perhaps you will be able to introduce a resolution in your group or organization. I would appreciate a copy of any resolution you introduce, or any communication you might send on my behalf.

(Mrs.) Florence Gowgiel
Chairman, Save Our Sons Committee,
Box 95, Argo, Ill.

THE EAST COMES TO THE PARIS FAIR

Silk and jade—iron and steel

By Anne Bauer
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

PARIS

CHINA HAS COME to Paris these weeks, along with four other socialist states, as the annual Paris International Trade Fair opens its window a little more widely each year on the Eastern countries. Czechoslovakia and Poland have brought their famous glass and crystal wares, Eastern Germany her toys, Rumania her pretty embroidered blouses.

The Chinese, at the Fair for the first time, have set up a pavilion of their own in two parts. In the first, to the thin nasal tunes of a popular recording, crowds of visitors make their way through an Oriental fairyland of jade necklaces and ivory statuettes, tender white tussah silk and shining blue rugs. In the second, silk and jade, China and lace yield to iron and steel: the visitor is entering the Socialist world of tomorrow.

The traditional arts and crafts won't be banished from this world. But the fundamental importance of China's exhibit, and the Eastern European exhibits, is in their industry. This importance is not only in the quality of their machines, which are beginning to make a place for themselves on the world market. It is on the fact that tractors and excavators, generators and furnaces, ball bearings and bulldozers are being manufactured in countries today where industrial production before the war was negligible or non-existent.

SOCIALIST HANDBOOK: The Eastern exhibits are like a handbook on Socialist construction, where industrial and social progress, more production, better living for all and national independence are written with capital letters, and linked to each other by close and natural ties.

Take Poland, essentially an agricultural country before the war. Ten years of socialism have promoted it in Europe from 9th to 5th place in industrial production, to first place for coal export. To note its gains—if you take 1938 as a basis of comparison—multiply 3.2 for the increase in steel production, by 3.5 for iron, by 5 for electric energy, by 4.5 for total industrial output. The Polish citizen today has 17% more flour and bread, 65% more meats and fats, 23% more dairy products than in 1938. Compared to 1949, the production of chemicals has increased 337%, machine tool and tractor production has multiplied by 3, automobile production by nearly 100. Symbol of trade and of new independence, Polish ships, for the first time in history, come out of Polish shipyards.

THE MASTERWORD: Poland today is doing business with 85 countries, importing machinery, fuel and raw materials, exporting industrial and food products. To the underdeveloped countries, it is selling ready-to-operate industrial installations complete with full technical information. This guarantees economic independence for the buyer and deflates all talk of "socialist colonialism." Poland has set up three sugar refineries in China recently, and has sold cold plants to China and Bulgaria and silos to Burma. Tomorrow it will sell mining installations and foundries, railway rolling stock and rails and textile plants to the Middle East and Far East.

Tomorrow is the masterword in the constant evolution, transformation and progress that is the world of socialism. Tomorrow headlines the industrial exhibit in the Chinese pavilion.

FIRST CAR FACTORY: Tomorrow, China will have two new steel producing centers to swell the output of the first one, Anchan. This fall the first car plant China has ever had will put out its first series. The Chinese proudly present a toy-size model of their first ultra-modern automobile factory. They also show models of the great hydraulic works that will tame the Yellow River and the Houai River. The motors, machines and machine tools they show are not for export yet; but produced in China for the first time, they are a symbol and an instrument of the re-birth of the country.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Ahead of us with the T-Bomb

Chinese statistics take their own lease on the future. Reference years are 1952 and 1957, beginning and end of the first Chinese five-year plan. Against the index figure of 100 for 1952, 1957 will write 153 for workers' wages, 200 for farmers' purchasing power, 151 for overall industrial and agricultural production, 306 for steel production.

NO REGRETS: The future is the watchword even for East Germany, whose production figures are less spectacular (it had an industry of its own before the war which was almost wiped out) and where the fight and competition are bitterest between East and West.

A member of the East Berlin delegation said:

"I was an engineer with Siemens before the war. When the war was over, I began to see a number of things I had not been aware of before. I gave up my job—a very comfortable one—and went over to the East. We have had a couple of very hard years. There will no doubt be more difficulties to come. But I don't regret my choice. I did not want to work for the past; I wanted to work for the future."

As East-West trade waits for official sanction, another exchange is in full swing. All the Eastern countries at the Fair have big book sections. Among a wealth of children's books and scientific text books, there also are found Balzac and Dreiser, Stendhal, Defoe and Shaw (in Polish translation), Zola, Molière and Victor Hugo (in Chinese).

No strategic list has been able as yet to stop the exchange of ideas.

THE FOREIGN-BORN PAROLEES

What is Washington afraid of?

By Elmer Bendiner

A LADY PUT HER HANDBAG down on the table with an air of controlled exasperation and said: "Every time people meet me on the street they say: 'You still around?' They see me all the time so they think nothing is happening. How can we tell them all that is happening to us?"

Around the room heads nodded in agreement. Faces bore scars of worry. Eight men and women, some middle-aged and some older, had gathered in the offices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to tell the story of their lives on parole: the terror, harassment, privations of people who are not in jail but who are not free.

They are all non-citizens, ordered deported for political reasons but undeportable because their countries of origin will not accept them. They are all serving an indeterminate parole. It could be for life. They are confined to within 50 miles of Times Square, must report regularly to Immigration officials. Over their heads hang penalties of fine and imprisonment for attending forbidden meetings, seeing forbidden people, engaging in activities legal for all others but forbidden to them.

BESSIE GEISER'S STORY: The regulations themselves don't measure the full terror that has eaten into the lives of these people. This is what they wanted to talk about.

Mrs. Bessie Geiser, a trim little lady with wispy white hair which occasionally slips down in front of her eyes, said:

"I work in a shop and everybody knows about my deportation. I don't say all annoyances come from this, but the workers, even, make remarks. But I don't want to leave. A new place might be worse and here I already had my struggles. It's like I already paid for it. So I want to stay."

Her voice became wistful. "I was forever dreaming of traveling. I want to see Niagara Falls. Fifty years I am in this country and I never saw the Falls. But now I will not go. Why? Because she—the woman I report to—she will want to know what I do there. (Mrs. Geiser would have to get permission to go beyond the 50-mile circle). I never had the chance before. Now I could go but I would have to ask. I don't feel good. I don't feel free."

Mrs. Geiser told how it was to be interviewed by parole supervisors:

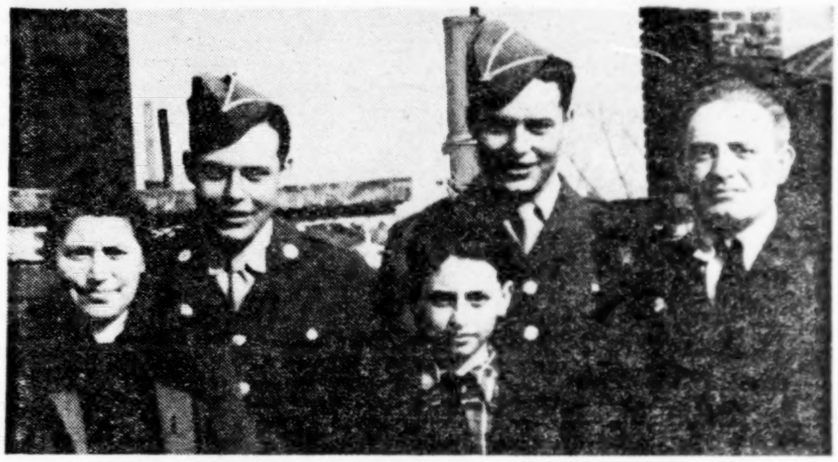
"Once the officer makes himself look very big and says to me, 'This is the Government of the United States.' . . . In my heart I wanted to say I am not afraid of the Government of the United States. The Government of the United States is afraid of me . . . I wanted to say it but I thought maybe it is too far-fetched."

She folded her hands primly in her lap and summed up emphatically: "I am not afraid. I am only irritated."

THE SALTZMAN STORY: Benjamin Saltzman had three sons. One was wounded and another killed in the Battle of the Bulge. The third was too young for military service. In 1949, when they when they brought the dead boy home for re-burial and to plant a tree in his name, his father was under deportation orders. Benjamin Saltzman told how not long ago the parole officer asked him: "Are you for the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence?" Saltzman recalled:

"I couldn't help it. I got mad. I stood up and said, 'I am for the American way of life. I am for justice, for peace . . . And anyway I wouldn't answer any questions without a lawyer'."

Bessie Geiser remarked thoughtfully at that point: "For me the main thing that hurts me most is the question, did you violate the 50-mile limit. It's like asking me, did you visit a department store today and steal anything?"



BENNY SALTZMAN HAD THREE SONS—NOW THERE ARE TWO

This was the Saltzman family during World War II. L. to r.: Mrs. Sadie Saltzman, Bernard (wounded in the war), Max, Isidore (killed in the Battle of the Bulge) and Benjamin Saltzman.

HARRY EGGER

10 jobs—and then relief

FISH COMES FIRST: Mrs. Sadie Saltzman could still laugh as if the whole thing were too ludicrous to believe. Her husband told of the time the FBI men—or maybe they were Immigration inspectors—trailed them and finally came to their door: "Sadie let them into the living room and told them to sit down because she was busy making fish."

Sadie Saltzman chimed in: "I was not trying to hide anything. I don't like to be afraid. I don't want to be afraid." Two years ago the Saltzmans got a telephone and a relative asked Sadie why she did anything so dangerous. Then he asked her in a friendly way would she and her husband please stop meeting his children in public places. Mrs. Saltzman commented with a slow smile: "Even brave people are afraid."

ROSE LIGHTCAP'S STORY: Rose Nelson Lightcap has been harassed for years for her political views. But even a veteran has jitters. She works in an office and commented: "When one person comes in I know it's a salesman. But when two men come in I turn around."

Every person under parole must report any change of employment within 24 hours. Keeping a job is difficult enough when a worker has to knock off an afternoon a week (now it's once a month in New York) to report to the authorities. It becomes almost impossible when Immigration authorities inform the employer. Frequently the boss asks himself, "Why look for trouble?", then lets the parolee go at the first opportunity.

HARRY EGGER'S STORY: Harry Egger, 57-year-old bricklayer, said he could tell something about how the parole affected a man's chance to earn a living. He had gone through 10 jobs, fired each time after inspectors talked with his employer. Sometimes, after word got around that he was under deportation orders, one or two men on the job with him got ugly. One man, after weeks of baiting Egger for being a Jew as well as under deportation, shook his fist under Egger's nose and said: "If I could only get you mad, I'd kill you." Egger said he told the man: "First you'll have to kill me; then I'll get mad."

Egger is on home relief now. His wife is recovering from a serious operation but the Welfare Dept. is pressing them both to find jobs—jobs which Mrs. Egger is in no condition to take and which Mr. Egger cannot keep while under parole.

LANDLORDS TOO: Bessie Geiser wanted one word more. Boss trouble can be bad, she said, but landlord trouble can be worse. She said that during the winter they couldn't get heat. (They share a two-family house with their landlord). When she and her husband complained, the landlord and his son came upstairs to see them. The son said the FBI had been inquiring about them and added: "Why do you bother us about steam? You're going to be in real trouble." Mrs. Geiser said she told the landlord: "You keep the FBI. Give us steam."

The landlord cut the heat off in April, well ahead of schedule, and in an unusually cold spring. "We don't speak about steam any more. So now they don't give us hot water either," Mrs. Geiser said.

Their neighbors seem to have stood by the victims, though. Anna Taffler said that when officials canvassed all her neighbors, they reported to her quickly and pointed out the agents watching her from their windows. Sadie Saltzman said her neighbors told the FBI that Bennie Saltzman was "the nicest man in the house." She smiled as if a little embarrassed and added: "After all, we don't have to be proud, just to be honest."

MARTIN YOUNG'S STORY: Martin Young, who was held on Ellis Island for close to a year, told how his garbage was neatly separated from that of other tenants and inspected by Immigration agents every morning. He said: "If you were to succumb, you'd live in a strait-jacket."

It was worse for the non-politicals under supervisory parole, Young said. (There are less than 150 political cases in the country but 4,000 non-political ones.) The non-politicals don't know what hit them or how to defend themselves against inspectors who shout and bully them into submission. The politicals fight back, refuse to answer irrelevant questions without an attorney. Now that the ACPFB has challenged the whole procedure in court, the Department's tactics have eased up, at least in New York. But the harassment and the threat of a crackdown, is ever present

EVER-PRESENT THREAT: At any moment a parolee may be indicted for being seen in the street with a known Communist attending a meeting of an organization on the Atttorney General's list, for combining together with other parolees (since all are suspect) even for their own joint defense.

None have yet been prosecuted on such charges, but the threat is there; and along with it a complete absurdity. For example, every six months gentle Bessie Geiser, who wants to see Niagara Falls, must fill out a questionnaire and have it notarized. Among the questions: "Do you have any hangouts or places where you spend your spare time?"

Casing Bessie Geiser's hangout must be like frisking Grandma Moses.

Wild Irish Rogues (Part II)

Above are Patrick Sarsfield (Butch) Hallinan, 21 (l.) and Terence Tyrone (Kayo) Hallinan, 19, (r.), eldest sons of Vincent and Vivian Hallinan, somewhat grown-up since they appeared as characters in their Mother's best-seller. They are, respectively, middle-weight and heavy-weight boxing champions of the University of California. Butch is showing his brother his championship trophy won at the Chico State College tournament. He also went to the semi-finals of the Natl. Intercollegiate Championships last month. Kayo wears numerals won as tackle on the U. C. Freshman football team. Their father, who was Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, ascribes their athletic successes to their perfect sense of timing. He says that whenever either of them takes out the family car he can be counted on to return it with precisely one pint of gasoline remaining in the tank.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP: POLAND, ENGLAND, SPAIN

What every American Catholic should know

By Monica Whately
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

(The author is a distinguished British author, lecturer and world traveler. She is herself a Catholic.)

LONDON

PROPAGANDA HAS BECOME our daily food, served up to us at breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner, through press, radio and television. Propaganda is always biased, and frequently untrue, and for that reason should always be most carefully examined before judgments are formed. Yet the majority repeat parrot fashion what they have heard said by others, or read in a prejudiced press.

Propaganda, according to Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language, "is a society in Rome charged with the management of Roman Catholic missions." Is it for this reason that there appears to be such widespread ignorance, among Catholics in particular, about what is happening in Communist-governed countries? In my recent visit to Poland, a country of 25,000,000 Catholics, I was deeply interested to study the agreement reached between Church and State which, in spite of criticism, ensures religious freedom for all its people.

THE HITLER CONCORDAT: It is difficult to understand the Vatican's disapproval, since the present Pope saw fit to make a concordat, an agreement under Canon Law, with Hitler, in spite of his hideous crimes against humanity, his suppression of the Catholic press, his wholesale arrest of the clergy who had the courage to defy his orders and speak against his blasphemous philosophy.

I went to Germany at that time, taking with me a letter of introduction from the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster to the Cardinal Archbishop of Munich. I was begged by the Cardinal's personal secretary in Munich to forego the interview. Since I was a Catholic, he said, and held the letter, the Cardinal could not refuse to see me. But to do so might endanger his life, for anything I said on my return to England would be regarded by the Nazi authorities as information gained through him. This would give them the opportunity for which they were waiting—to arrest and possibly execute him. Nevertheless the concordat was not broken by the Holy Father, but later by Hitler, who by then felt himself strong enough to challenge the world and to treat the Vatican with the contempt he felt for it.

THIRD OF THE WORLD: The present Pope also had a concordat with the excommunicated Catholic Mussolini, and today recognizes General Franco as a "loyal son of the Church." It would appear inconsistent, therefore, that he finds it impossible to accept the agreement reached by the Polish Episcopate in 1950 because the Polish government is Communist.

Whether we like it or not, a third of the world is already under communist rule. It is a force that has come to stay, a force which many may feel would never have come into being, had not Christians, the world over, failed to carry out those principles taught by Christ Himself.

In the democracies, so-called Christian governments have failed to give their people security from want or from war. The Churches have blessed the armies of all nations, in spite of the law "Thou shall not kill." Christ said that His disciples should be recognized by their love one for another.

- Is it love that tolerates a part of the community living in luxury, and owning great estates, while the rest of the people exist in abject poverty without the most elementary necessities?
- Is it love that authorizes a color-bar, denying to millions their place in a civilized society, and thus challenging their—and our—faith in the Universal Fatherhood of God?
- Is it love that permits slavery in any shape or form?

Yet, alas, Churches have been built and maintained on the blood, sweat and exploitation of the dispossessed, the enslaved, the poor.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE: Many will doubtless reply that Communists as well as Christians are guilty of these crimes; yet under Communist governments we see a real attempt being made to carry out those Christian precepts which demand that we feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked—in other words accept that Christ suffered and died to give life in greater abundance, not to the privileged few, but to all His creatures.

THEY DO HAVE BISHOPS IN POLAND
Bishop Golinski at the consecration of Stalinogrod Cathedral

In the Decree of the Council of Ministers, passed on Aug. 5, 1949, the Republic of Poland guaranteed to all its citizens freedom of conscience and religious creed. Anyone attacking another because of his religious beliefs, or his irreligiousness, becomes liable to imprisonment up to five years. No one has the right to compel another to participate in religious activity, or religious rites, or to restrain a person unlawfully from such participation. They must not insult objects of religious worship, defile a place dedicated to religious rites, or incite to strife over religious matters.

In the decree there does not appear to be any loophole which could take from the people of Poland the complete religious freedom they now enjoy under a Communist form of government, but which so-called Christian governments failed to give them in the past when the most vicious attacks were constantly made against those belonging to the same race as Christ Himself.

CONTRAST OF SPAIN: As an Englishwoman and a Catholic I enjoy in a Protestant country complete religious freedom. What was my surprise, therefore, on going to Spain, a Catholic country, to find that no such freedom existed for those outside the Catholic Church! The last educational center for Protestants has recently been closed by order of the Spanish government. In the prisons, non-Catholics are forced to attend Sunday Mass, and appointments to the Hierarchy are made not by the Vatican, but by the dictator ruling Spain.

The Polish Government respects religious freedom and the Polish Episcopate has at heart the good of the Church. They also believe it to be right to encourage the faithful to respect State laws and authority, to intensify work on the rebuilding of their country and raising the living standards of the Nation.

A large part of Poland was literally razed to the ground by the Nazis. Over 4,000,000 perished in the concentration camp of Auschwitz—men, women and children. Among them were 2,647 priests. It is natural, therefore, that the Government should ask the Polish Episcopate to oppose activity hostile to Poland, especially on the part of the German clergy.

POPE'S AUTHORITY: In matters of faith, morality and Church jurisdiction, the government accepts the principle that the Pope is the most competent and the highest Church authority, while in other matters the Episcopate is guided by Polish national interests.

The Episcopate promised, in conformance with the teaching of the Church, to support all efforts to consolidate peace and oppose, as far as it is able, all efforts to unleash war.

The Government stated categorically that it had no intention of restricting the present state of religious teaching in schools; and programs of religious study would be drawn up by school authorities jointly with representatives of the Episcopate. They promised that it would not place difficulties in the way of pupils who wished to participate in religious practices outside school. In the event of the opening of schools where religion was not included in the curriculum, Catholic parents, if they wished, would have the right to send their children to schools where religion is taught.

Under the agreement Catholic associations and Catholic press and publishing houses benefit by the regulations, and no difficulties are placed in the way of public rituals, traditional pilgrimages and processions.

Catholic chaplains are appointed to the army, prisons and hospitals, while convents, monasteries and religious houses have complete freedom of activity.

THE PROOF: To me none of this seems to fit into the picture of a Communist anti-God campaign which so disturbs the Catholic conscience. It is true, of course, in Poland that there are bad Catholics, indifferent Catholics, even anti-Catholics, as there are in every country where Catholicism exists; but that does not mean that those who want to practice their religion are not free to do so. The answer is to be seen in the Churches packed on Sundays and well attended every day of the week.

At my daily Mass I saw children on their way to school, laborers on their way to work, housewives doing their daily shopping, who came into the Church, sometimes for only a few minutes, to say their prayers before they went on their way. In the cities, as well as in the country, wayside shrines brought large numbers to their knees. In the great Seminary in Warsaw, where 500 are trained for the priesthood, I was told that the government supplied all the books required for the enormous library. The chief librarian prepared the list, including those on theology and religion, which was sent without comment.

The vexed question of the arrest of the Primate of Poland and some of the bishops is a matter of grief for the Polish people. It is alleged that they were working against the State, and thus breaking their side of the agreement which gave the Church full religious freedom. It is to be hoped that they may soon be returned to their people, prepared to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.

Nationalities fete in L. A. June 17

ON JUNE 17, 10,000 picnickers are expected to gather in the Croatian Park picnic grounds and auditorium in Los Angeles to celebrate the Sixth Annual Festival of Nationalities, featuring a "Tribute to Paul Robeson." The festival, a tribute to the foreign born for their contribution to American life and culture, will present West Indian singers and drummers, a mandolin orchestra, an Irish reel dance group and a 20-voice interracial chorus. Food specialties of the various nationalities, as well as regular American picnic fare, will be served. There will be a professionally-manned Children's Care and Recreation Center in a shaded area, with entertainment including a magician.

The grounds at 11621 Budlong Av. (116th St. and Budlong, south of Imperial Highway and between Vermont and Normandie) will open to the public at 10 a.m. Food will be served from 11 a.m., and the colorful program will be relayed to the audience through a hi-fi system in the afternoon and a live band will play dance music well into the evening.

Admission is $1, children free. Further information from Room 318, 326 W. 3rd St., LA 13. Phone MAdison 5-2169.

LOS ANGELES

ROSENBERG-SOBELL TRIBUTE DINNER
Honoring
DANIEL G. MARSHALL
Noted attorney and National Co-Chairman of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell
SAT., JUNE 30, 7 P. M.
at the Nikabob
875 So. Western Avenue
Los Angeles, Calif.
Auspices:
L. A. Sobell Committee
468 No. Western Avenue
L. A. Hollywood 4-4725
DINNER $10

NEW YORK

COME TO HEAR
ANNA LOUISE STRONG
speak on
"The Latest Developments in the U. S. S. R."
Discussion period will follow.
Tues., June 12, 8 p.m. sharp Pythian Hall
Admission $1 (tax incl.) 135 W. 70 St., e. of B'way
Auspices: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

HOOTENANNY
SAT., JUNE 16
The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St.

June 1 thru 16
ED STRICKLAND
PAINTINGS and DRAWINGS
ART OF TODAY GALLERY
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Boy meets girl at Guardian's new office

Photo by Robert Joyce

The paint was hardly dry on our new diggings when a class of 7th Graders from a neighborhood school, out to learn how printing presses and linotype machines operate, paid us a visit. They met our well known mascot, wangled his cardboard cutout, barrel and all, from editor Jim Aronson, and toted him back to school for some academic hi-jinks which we haven't yet figured out.

THE UN-PRODUCED EVIDENCE

U. S. reply to Sobell brief admits some defense charges

THE GOVERNMENT last week admitted that some of the evidence used against Morton Sobell was false and that other evidence, possibly favorable to Sobell, was in government hands but not produced at his trial.

Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for conspiring to transmit defense data to the Soviet Union. Federal District Judge Irving R. Kaufman, who sentenced the Rosenbergs to death and Sobell to 30 years' imprisonment, was to hear arguments for a retrial for Sobell on May 31, almost three years after the Rosenbergs had been executed.

Sobell's attorneys, in asking for a new trial, presented fresh evidence to show that the government had deceived the jury by declaring that Sobell was deported from Mexico where he had allegedly fled to escape arrest. They offered evidence showing that the Mexican Immigration authorities had not acted against Sobell; that he had traveled with a tourist card and vaccination certificate made out in his own name; that the government prosecutors, Roy Cohn and Irving Saypol, had these documents in their possession when they told the jury Sobell had no visa and was following a sinister "pattern of flight."

A DICTIONARY DEFINITION: In an answering brief, U.S. Attorney Paul Williams admitted that the words "Deported from Mexico," written by a U.S. immigration inspector across a document concerning Sobell's forcible return to the U.S., should have read: "Ejected."

Sobell's own brief cited Mexican records to show that Sobell had been "kidnapped" by the Mexican Security police with the active collaboration of the FBI, the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City and the U.S. Immigration Dept. In answering the charge, the government made no effort to refute the Sobell evidence, admitted that the Mexican Immigration authorities had no hand in Sobell's arrest but said that he was "deported" in the sense of the word as defined by Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary:

"To carry off or away, transport, especially to take or send away forcibly, as to a penal colony; banish, as, the prisoners were deported by boat . . ."

That definition might fit such a kidnapping described in the Sobell brief, but differs drastically with the common understanding of the word. Sobell attorneys have charged that Sobell was not given the chance to return voluntarily to the U.S. and in that way the prosecutor could describe him as in flight and Judge Kaufman could then remind the jurors that flight was "legitimate ground for an inference of a guilty mind."

THE ELITCHER TESTIMONY: The government's answer to the charge of "suppressing" the tourist card and vaccination certificate, made out legally in Sobell's name, is that the Sobell defense had not asked that such documents be produced at the trial.

Three-quarters of the prosecution's brief consists of summarizing the testimony of Max Elitcher, the only significant witness against Sobell, and an admitted perjurer, and describing Sobell's inquiries about leaving Mexico.

Whatever the merits of the government's case on those grounds, they seemed to have little to do with the retrial motion. Technically that motion does not cover the whole ground of the guilt or innocence of the accused which is a matter for the trial itself, but only whether the proceedings were tainted by false or suppressed evidence. On that point the government seemed to be conceding, though belittling its importance.

TREATY VIOLATION CHARGED: A second brief was filed for Sobell last week, this time charging that the court had no jurisdiction over the case at all, since Sobell had been seized in violation of a treaty with Mexico, without the knowledge or consent of the Mexican government.

The proceedings which, if necessary, can be appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, were taken by attorneys Donner, Kinoy and Perlin of New York, and Benjamin Dreyfus of San Francisco.

Last week it was announced that Thomas McBride, chancellor of the Philadelphia bar and a leading criminal lawyer, had joined the case. He was expected to participate in the May 31 hearing.

The allies revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

British-Russian trade to $560 million a year for five years. Eden said he had "no doubt the Russians wanted these goods" and declared such trade would "help build peace."

LET'S FACE IT: But the fulfillment of these alluring commercial prospects has posed a dilemma for Britain. Both the Russians and the Chinese want mostly industrial goods. Therefore, as Eden said, "we have to face it that an important part of the call to meet this demand will fall on the engineering industry, and . . . we have to step up our production to supply the goods."

But, as Labor MP Konni Zilliacus pointed out (**The Nation**, 5/19), the British cannot step up production to fill the Chinese and Russian orders unless they "slash defense expenditures and release a large part of the 1,500,000 men locked up in the armed forces and the war industries, with corresponding amounts of materials and machinery."

The Eden government, however, is unwilling to slash the defense expenditures (one third the national budget) and release armed forces manpower and materials because it is still grimly holding on to the remnants of Empire. Amidst sharp criticism of his colonial policy by the Labour opposition, British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd on May 21 reaffirmed his "government's unswerving allegiance to a firm policy, including the use of force . . . to hold Cyprus, Aden and Singapore [which are] vital to our strategic interests". (NYT, 5/22).

Among the interests the Eden government wants to protect are the $3½ billion Britain gets from Middle Eastern oil, $465 million from Malayan rubber and tin, $621 million from W. African export (57% cocoa), $130 million from Ceylonese tea and rubber, and $108 million from E. African copper.

THE "STRONG" POLICY: Pursuing this policy of force, Britain has "slammed the door on negotiations" in Cyprus and made "the vicious circle of the noose . . . its only instrument of policy" (London **New Statesman**, 5/12). It has adopted a "strong" policy toward Aden, curtly rejecting the Aden Association's demand for self-government within the Commonwealth as incompatible with Aden's "strategic and economic importance" (**NYT**, 5/22). It has denied autonomy to the Crown Colony of Singapore by insisting on controlling—against the unanimous demand of all Singapore political parties—Singapore's internal and external defense, as well as foreign affairs.

Drawing by Gabriel, London

MINE OWN EXECUTIONER

Expansion of British trade is thus being handicapped as much by London's colonial policy as by U.S.-imposed restrictions. In fact, this "policy of force" makes Britain more susceptible to American pressure, more dependent on U.S. aid.

FRANCE FOLLOWS SUIT: France is duplicating the British pattern in Algeria, squandering a billion dollars a year in a vain attempt to stem the tide of Algerian independence. Paris has turned a deaf ear to Indian Premier Nehru's suggestion last week for a cease-fire in Algeria, recognition of "the national entity and personality of Algeria," acceptance of the equality of all Algerians "irrespective of race," and "direct negotiations" with Algerian leaders in accordance with the UN Charter.

Herblock in Washington Post

"When do we come out with a new model?"

Yet France, like Britain, cannot hope for expanded trade without drastically reducing its military expenditure and releasing manpower for industrial growth. "Without the young Frenchmen," **NYT** reported (5/24), "recruits for the growing technical industries are becoming more difficult to obtain—the very industries that need to grow if France is to maintain her place as an industrial nation."

NOT MUCH AWARENESS: To take advantage of the vast potentialities of expanded foreign trade, colonial powers like Britain and France must accept the impossibility of turning the clock back to the days of the "white man's burden." The revolution that is sweeping Asia and Africa, Walter Lippmann pointed out (5/22), "has a depth and scope and energy which are without precedent." He said:

"What gives this revolution its fierce and enormous energy is the determination at long last to undo the human consequences of three centuries of the white man's domination, and at the same time to overcome the economic and technological backwardness of the former colonial lands."

There seems to be even less awareness of this revolution in Washington than in London and Paris. Congress reacted to Eden's announcement of trade expansion with China by demanding the enforcement of the Battle Act. Secy. Dulles publicly reproached the Egyptian government for recognizing China, while the U.S. ambassador to Damascus visited Syrian Premier Said Ghazzi after Ghazzi had told reporters his country also was considering recognition of China.

THAT CERTAIN FEELING: Undaunted by the weakening of such military alliances as NATO, SEATO and METO, the U.S. shipped heavy military equipment to Libya. Oblivious to popular rumblings against feudal rulers, Washington sent another shipload of arms to the ruler of Saudi Arabia for "internal use." With a new Jordanian Premier sworn in on May 22, presaging that nation's joining the neutralist powers, U.S. Middle East policy became even more untenable.

Yet NYT's military analyst, Hanson Baldwin, advised (5/11) maintenance of U.S. military power "near the scene" and proposed the creation of a U.S. "naval task force or squadron in the Indian Ocean-Persian Gulf-Red Sea area."

"One has the feeling," Lippmann said, "that the Western nations are fighting rear guard actions, the French in N. Africa, the British in the Middle East, we in Formosa and beyond."

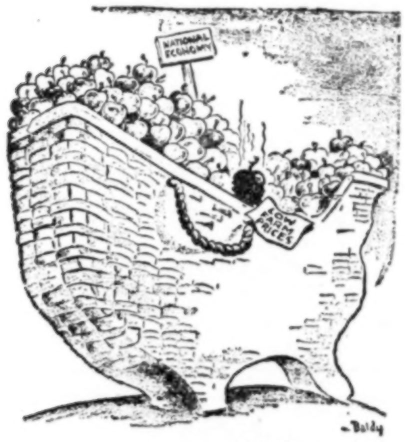
New farm bill

(Continued from Page 1)

THE SOIL BANK: Main feature of the bill is the $1,200,000,000 soil bank plan pushed by President Eisenhower. Under it farmers will be paid to take cropland out of production, and to convert submarginal land to long-range soil-conserving uses.

But Congress eliminated what the President most wanted: a proposal to pay out $500,000,000 **this year** for land to be taken out of production **next year.** The Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** called this "about the boldest plan for buying votes in an election year we have seen." Farmers can still receive soil bank payments this year for land taken out of production immediately, but this won't amount to much because nearly all the crops are already planted.

Other main provisions in the bill call for maintenance of present support prices on wheat, corn and peanuts through 1957 (under existing law they were to be reduced); for freezing national acreage allotments for cotton and rice for two years; for support of feed grains at 76% of parity in 1956; for maintenance through 1957 of the present "transitional" parity formula (present law would have reduced it 5%); for a discretionary two-price plan for rice; for a plan to permit dumping cotton on the world market; and for an increase of $500,000,000 in funds for government purchase of pork and



Atlanta Constitution

THE BAD APPLE

other perishables, mainly in connection with the school lunch program.

FRANTIC MANEUVERS: But this hodgepodge, which cannot conceivably cure the growing farm crisis, was nevertheless the result of frantic and desperate behind-the-scenes maneuvering by both parties to claim the allegiance of the Midwest farmer. The **Congressional Quarterly** recently explained this concern:

"The Midwest is just about the biggest prize in the 1956 campaign.

"Here's why. The 12 states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin put up for grabs:

"153 of the 531 electoral votes.

"129 of the 435 House seats.

"Nine of the 35 contested Senate seats, eight of them now held by Republicans.

"And the lesson of history is the man who wins the Midwest wins the Presidency. The rule has been broken only twice in the last 14 elections—in 1916 and again in 1944."

ORGANIZED DISCONTENT: Rumblings of discontent in the Midwest—and the search for new organizations, new forms of pressure, and closer ties with labor (GUARDIAN, April 9)—were growing. More and more farmers were being taken with the notion of finding direct means of collective bargaining with food processors and packers.

From Stuart, Ia., Rev. Robert N. D. Yoak, a leader in the movement to bring farmers into the AFL-CIO as an organic part, reported growing interest. In Ryan, Ia., a former foundry worker and unionist turned farmer, claimed a 40-county membership in a new organization called the Natl. Agricultural Producers Union. Further north in the same state a Union of Organized Farmers was growing. The Natl. Farmers Organization, formed last September, last week claimed a membership of 150,000 and was conducting "exploratory" meetings with several Midwest union leaders.

Last month NFO leaders from eight western Iowa counties met with officials of the Sioux City United Packinghouse Workers to discuss a "Farmer-Labor Joint Council" for the area. Said a farmer spokesman: "We've got to do a job this fall and shake up some of those Congressmen who have been selling both of us down the river."

THE GORE PLAN: Leroy Gore, former Republican Wisconsin editor who led the Joe-Must-Go campaign against Sen. McCarthy and who is now running for Congress as a Democrat, attended one of the Iowa farmer-labor meetings to explain his "Fair Trade Farm Law" for dairy farmers. Processing plants would be required by law to negotiate annual contracts with their farm producers for anticipated normal needs at prices of 90% parity or more. Only production above that level would be federally supported.

Later he told the Sauk County, Wisc., AFL: "The Eisenhower-Benson . . . Do-Nothing farm program is rapidly forcing the farmers into the same kind of collective bargaining which has given labor its important gains of the past 30 years . . .

"The minimum wage law puts a floor under wages. The manufacturer negotiates with everyone else for his needs in advance. Only the farmer takes what is offered him after his produce is delivered. Obviously, the farmer cannot exist in the present cockeyed system where everybody is protected except him . . .

"Even if the farm revolt should result in the election of sufficient liberals to give the farmer 90% parity, he has no guarantee that the next election will not return to office the Do-Nothings like the Bensons . . who will promptly erase all his gains. The farmer will be pushed around until he is organized for unified action like everyone else."

UNITY IN WISCONSIN: Early last month the Wisconsin CIO executive board came up with a program which may be the beginning of a farmer-labor political alliance in the state. It called for the appointment of a five-man legislative committee to meet jointly with a similar group from the Wisconsin Farmers Union for a concentrated drive to defeat at least three of the six Wisconsin Republicans who voted against the Democratic farm bill which was vetoed. Said CIO president Charles M. Schultz:

"For the first time in a generation, labor and farmers in Wisconsin are political allies. Labor unions are no longer a curse word in farm areas, and city workers don't think farmers are driving around in Cadillacs any more . . . Layoffs and production cutbacks in the farm machinery and auto industry have flashed a warning to organized labor. We must boost family farm income or face a serious recession spreading into the cities of Wisconsin."

PRESSURE FOR BARGAINING: The gathering pressures for some kind of direct negotiations with the buyers of farm produce were beginning to affect the Natl. Farmers Union which heretofore has frowned on such notions. In Moline, Ill., president Ralph Bradley of the state Farmers Union announced that his organization is going to "explore the possibilities of collective bargaining . . . Other groups had to find answers on their own. Certainly the farm problem is no more complex than their's was."

Later, in Springfield, he said: "There's a definite grass roots pressure in this direction. If there weren't, I wouldn't be talking about it." He revealed that collective bargaining would be discussed by a meeting of some 300 NFU leaders scheduled in Des Moines for May 23-25. He added:

"We are living in a collective bargaining age. The farmer is awakening to the fact that he's got to get in it. He's not quite sure how or when. But he realizes that just waiting on Congress for action has not paid off. He wants to depend on his own strength more."

Justus in Minneapolis Star

One surplus after another!

It all depends . . .

BOSTON, April 30—Representative Thomas J. Lane, Democrat of Massachusetts, was sentenced today to four months in jail and fined $10,000 for income tax evasion . . . Specifically the Representative was charged with evading $38,524 in Federal income taxes. N.Y. **Times, May 1**

•

WASHINGTON, April 30 (AP)—The Supreme Court upheld today the conviction of Louis Berra of St. Louis on a charge of attempted evasion of income taxes. Berra, former manager of the St. Louis Health Institute which furnishes medical care to the members of Teamsters Local 688, was sentenced to four years in prison . . . The Government charged that for the years 1951 through 1953 Berra paid taxes totalling $2,033 when he should have paid $3,459. **N. Y. Times, May 1**

"THE TWO SOUTHS"

Claude Williams speaks in New York June 6

THERE ARE two Souths, says Claude Williams, grass-roots Alabama preacher who will speak in New York on Wed. eve. June 6 on "The Challenge of Desegregation," at the Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St. He defines them thus:

"There is the vocal, super-imposed, minority South and there is the silent, submerged majority South. This vocal, minority South is composed of the political agents of the economic machine and the relatively small number of the currently voting, the deliverable white people who wittingly and/or unwittingly support the economic machine.

"The majority South—the true South—is composed of the non-deliverable, currently non-voting majority of the toiling peoples of the South. The peoples of this majority South have never been vocal. Submerged as a class and disdained as a caste, they have moved and worked, thought, prayed and dreamed silently since the days of the underground railway."

It is of the majority South that Williams will speak on June 6. He will speak with authority and at the same time with the warmth he feels for these people with whom he has lived and worked most of his life.

Others on the program that evening are John O. Killens, author of the brilliant novel **Youngblood**, and James Aronson, Executive Editor of the GUARDIAN. Contribution is 50 cents. It promises to be a provocative and stimulating evening.

MAY 21 GUARDIAN

Counsel for CP takes issue with article on court

The writer of the following letter was co-counsel with John Abt in presenting the brief of the Communist Party before the Supreme Court.

• • •

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Your May 21 issue has an article by Daniel M. Berman (The Supreme Court and the CP) on the Court's decision in the Communist Party case under the McCarran Internal Security Act. Mr. Berman has a healthy attitude toward the McCarran Act, but his article is misleading in several respects.

1. Mr. Berman states that it is obvious that the Court would have sustained the constitutionality of the Act if it had passed on the subject last month instead of temporarily bypassing the issue to reverse for "tainted testimony." There would be no point in debating Mr. Berman's opinion as to what the Court might have done except that the article may induce a pessimistic attitude among readers as to the ultimate outcome. It is useful, therefore, to point out that Mr. Berman's opinion does not rest on sound ground.

In support of his opinion, Mr. Berman quotes Justice Clark as extemporaneously blurting out in delivering his dissent orally: "Why the delay? It is obvious what our decision will be when we do rule on the constitutionality of the Act." Justice Clark, however, said nothing of the sort. His oral opinion, like his written dissent, gave no intimation as to the Court's views or his own views on the subject of constitutionality.

The editorial preface to Mr. Berman's article states that Mr. Berman was present in the Court when the decision was announced. However, I can certify that he misheard. I too was present in the Court, sitting close to the bench in the seats reserved for the Court's bar. Having at least as great an interest in the case as Mr. Berman, I am sure that I listened at least as intently.

The other ground given by Mr. Berman for his opinion is that "only the certainty of defeat could have kept Black and Douglas from joining Clark, Minton and Reed in demanding that the constitutional issue be faced squarely." This is pure speculation stated in an authoritative manner. There is no basis for supposing anything other than that Justices Black and Douglas simply thought that the decision as rendered was sound and an important precedent in the administration of justice.

2. Mr. Berman also indulges in mind-reading by stating: "It is ironic that the CP itself clearly did not dream that it would win the case on the ground that perjured testimony had been used against it." Quite the contrary was true. Counsel for the CP felt that it was likely that the Court would at this time avoid a constitutional decision by deciding for the CP on any of several non-constitutional points, including the one on perjured testimony. If counsel had not "dreamed" that the case might be won on the perjured testimony point, they would not have briefed it at all.

3. Mr. Berman refers to hearings "before a completely reconstituted SACB," including Board member Harry P. Cain. The references are explicable only on the assumption that the "new" Board may decide in favor of the CP. Despite the vacuous nature of the case against the CP, it is indeed far-fetched to assume that the Board might give a decision which would eliminate all possibility of future business for it, would in effect repeal the loaded Act, and would exhibit an objective attitude wholly at variance with decisions made by the Board, "old" and "new", in all cases on which it has passed. I might add that while Mr. Cain has justifiably criticized the Attorney General for violating civil liberties, he himself consistently violates them in his votes in SACB decisions, which have all been unanimous.

Joseph Forer

Ullmann denies all

(Continued from Page 1)

Act. Although I still believe that no citizen should be put in the undignified position of answering questions such as those put to me, the Supreme Court has ruled otherwise. That, for the time being, is therefore the law. I, as a loyal American, intend to obey the law.

"Accordingly, I have answered the questions put to me. As I have done in the past, I have again denied participating in espionage and have denied knowing anyone who has [participated]. I have denied ever being a member of the Communist party and have denied knowledge of Communist party activities on the part of others.

"I have specifically denied knowledge of the things which my former superior, the late Harry Dexter White, has been charged with—and believe, in fact, that he was a great and faithful public servant."

THE COE HEARING: Ullmann was not the only person last week being publicly "convicted" in the press in total contradiction of evidence in the possession of the government. V. Frank Coe, also a Treasury official under White, appeared at a closed hearing of the Eastland committee on May 15 and categorically denied all charges of espionage made against him by Elizabeth Bentley.

The committee, in its closed hearing, sought to make the point that Coe and White, against the best interests of the U. S., sought to bar a shipment of gold to the forces of Chiang Kai-shek during the war. When Coe cited the record of what actually transpired, the committee abandoned this line of questioning and rather hastily adjourned the hearings.

But on May 21 the committee made available to the press some excerpts from the papers of Henry Morgenthau, then Secy. of the Treasury, purporting to show that Coe and White "betrayed" their country. Coe promptly sent Sen. Eastland this telegram:

"Since you prevented me from discussing the China loan in public last week, following my private testimony, I request that you publish the minutes of the executive session. To suppress this testimony is to serve only the China Lobby.

"Instead of pillorying the late Harry White, you should praise him for trying to defend the U. S. Treasury. It was our duty to advise Morgenthau as we did because the Chiang Kai-shek government was not using the loan to finance the war or fight inflation, but to enrich a few individuals."

UNPUBLISHED LETTER: The telegram was mostly ignored by the press, but on May 22 the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** featured on page 1 the release from the committee which depicted Coe and White as "Soviet spies." Coe's attorney, Milton H. Friedman, in a three-page letter to the **Herald Tribune,** protested the "false and defamatory comments and insinuations" against Coe and White, but the paper to date has published no retraction.

In his letter Friedman wrote:

"The news release which you published on May 22 reveals the committee's motive in suppressing Mr. Coe's testimony. The answers he gave in the executive session, if heard publicly, would have demonstrated indisputably that both he and Mr. White were engaged in stoutly and patriotically defending the interests of the United States in the very episode discussed in your news story. The committee, scorning the evidence, has characteristically circulated a smear instead."

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PUBLICATIONS

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if you are looking for a polemic or a partisan political tract.

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Was Justice Done?

The Rosenberg-Sobell Case

by

MALCOLM P. SHARP

Professor of Law, University of Chicago

with an Introduction by

HAROLD C. UREY

Professor of Chemistry, University of Chicago

Bertrand Russell writes from England: "I find the book exceedingly interesting and overwhelmingly convincing."

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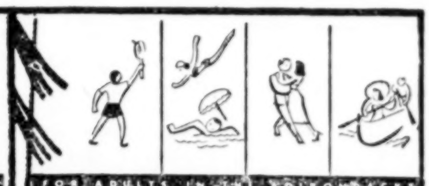

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KUMAR GOSHAL World Affairs Editor of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, just back from a cross-country tour, will speak on **"THE WORLD SINCE BANDUNG"** also a film of the Bandung Conference. Wed., June 6, 8:30 p. m. Community Church Center, 565 Boylston Street. 50c at door. Ausp: Greater Boston Friends of National Guardian.

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DICUSSION in the COMMUNIST PARTY: What they reveal—what they hide by Gordon Haskell, Assoc. Editor of "Labor Action," Fri., June 1, 8:30 p.m. at 114 W. 14 St. (3rd floor).

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A personal message to Father's Day gift buyers

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Dear Reader:

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From sad experience I can tell you the horrors of a dish washer when he gets to washing the pots and finds rice or spaghetti burnt and stuck solid to the bottom of the pot. He spends more time on one scorched pot than on all the dinner dishes.

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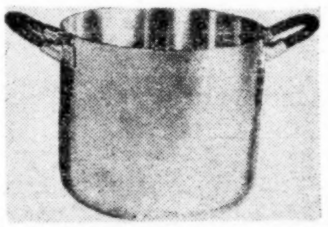

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the SPECTATOR

Bung Karno's brothers

THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA has been conspicuously in the headlines since last year's Asian-African Conference at Bandung. President Sukarno's presence in the U.S. has stimulated interest in his 80,000,000 compatriots on their 3,000 islands along the equator across 3,000 miles of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Sukarno offered a key to understanding his people when he told a joint session of our Congress what nationalism means to Indonesians: the rebuilding of their country (after the Japanese occupation of World War II and the revolt against the Dutch); raising themselves to a proper esteem in the eyes of other nations; "determination to take the future [of Indonesia] into our own hands." He said that although in some countries nationalism is "an out-of-date doctrine," it is for Indonesians—as for most Asians and for Africans—"the mainspring of our efforts."

To see how this people acquired the national character thus defined by their president is to see the people themselves.

CULTURAL ROOTS: The islands now called Indonesia had already been inundated by—and had absorbed—successive waves of cultural influences when Western Europe's commercial fleets first penetrated the Indian Ocean in 1500 A.D.: Malays, immigrating from the part of Central Asia now lying between Tibet and Thailand; Hindu barterers from India (beginning with the Christian era); the Buddhist influx; and, in the 1200's, Moslem traders from South India and Persia. After the Asians came Portuguese traders, followed in turn by Spanish, Dutch, English and again Dutch, each leaving his imprint. The Europeans' superior fighting technique and growing sea power forced Indonesian coastal kingdoms to relocate their seats of government far inland. Freer to improve their coastal position, the Dutch soon controlled all Indonesia.

Dutch imperialism consolidated its power; but anti-imperialist Dutchmen encouraged Indonesian nationalism. Socialist trends appeared. The Dutch government stayed until dislodged in World War II—by the Germans in Holland, by the Japanese in Indonesia. The war ended; after 3½ years of harassment by Indonesian guerrillas, the Japanese surrendered in August, 1945. Sukarno on Aug. 17, 1945, proclaimed his country's independence. Free of the Nazis at home, the Dutch failed to reestablish their political rule over the islands, except in West Irian (New Guinea). They failed, but their domination of Indonesian economy continues.

GOAD TO NATIONALISM: When sovereignty was transferred to the islands at the Round Table Conference in December 1949, the agreement stipulated that "within a year . . . the question of the political status of New Guinea [shall] be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands." To date the Dutch have refused to negotiate. Nor has the UN majority been responsive to protests that W. Irian is vital to Indonesian security.

AS AN ON-THE-SPOT but short-term student of Indonesian character during and after the Bandung Conference, I learned that the people's experiences had been much like those of Negroes' in the U.S. Both they and we have been struggling toward complete freedom for more than 300 years; however, owing to differences in the environments of our respective struggles, our acquired national characteristics are different.

A Negro sharecropper or tenant farmer, for instance, works his cotton or corn patch alone with his family. He may or may not know his neighbor sharecropper or tenant farmer. Neither is impelled into any kind of relationship with the other. The Indonesian peasant has had for generations to help his neighbor and to depend on his neighbor's help to plant and harvest their rice. The cooperative to which they belong seals the relationship. Nobody wants to be independent of his neighbor. Since peasants comprise more than 80% of the population, their village cooperatives—lessons in struggling together—become a way of life.

THERE IS NO "DISTANCE": At a reception in the garden of President Sukarno's palace, I was amazed to hear a member of his staff call to a waiter, "Bung" (Brother). I found thereafter that Indonesia came almost as close to having a classless society as any I had previously seen. A Ceylonese reporter said there was no "distance" between ordinary Indonesian people and their leaders.

It seems natural that out of the Indonesian people's experience there should come the country's basic national philosophy, as expressed in the Pantja Sila, or Five Principles: Belief in Divine Omnipotence—a belief which acknowledges certain basic moral values and which guarantees the right of each person to worship freely in accordance with his faith; Humanitarianism—respect for all humanity throughout the world; Nationalism—belief in the national unity of Indonesia; Democracy—the principle of representative government, sovereignty vested in the people and exercised through their representatives in Parliament; Social Justice, or Prosperity—belief in social and economic equality, as well as political equality, so that all members of the state may work together to create prosperity for all.

These principles have not all been realized: a Moslem woman, for instance, though unveiled in public and behaving in general much as she would in the West, may still share her husband with his other legal wives. But millions of organized women—including Moslems—say there'll be some changes made. I have no doubt that Bung Karno, President of Indonesia, and Bung King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., would understand each other.

—Eugene Gordon